

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-10 PM-03 L-02 CIAE-00 INR-10

NSAE-00 RSC-01 NSC-10 NSCE-00 PRS-01 SPC-01 IO-03

EA-13 DRC-01 /080 W

----- 117797

R 301709Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8408

INFO USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BONN 15711

LIMDIS/NOFORN

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM, GW

SUBJECT: NPT RATIFICATION: DISCUSSIONS WITH CDU DEPUTIES

REF: (A) STATE 212537, (B) BONN 15417

BEGIN SUMMARY: WE BELIEVE ARGUMENTATION IN DEPT'S GUIDANCE AND CONCERN OVER NUCLEAR FUEL SUPPLY IS HAVING A SALUTARY EFFECT ON CDU CONSIDERATION OF NPT RATIFICATION QUESTION. CDU PARLIAMENTARY LEADERS ARE ATTEMPTING TO DETERMINE THE BEST WAY TO CLARIFY GERMAN INTERPRETATION OF NPT IN ORDER BOTH TO AVOID FURTHER SUBSTANTIVE DIFFICULTIES WITH SOVIET UNION AND TO GAIN AFFIRMATIVE VOTE FOR RATIFICATION BY MAXIMUM NUMBER OF CDU DEPUTIES. CDU PARLIAMENTARY GROUP WILL CONSIDER TOPIC FURTHER AT OCT 31 MEETING. END SUMMARY

1. EMBOFF USED DEPT'S HELPFUL GUIDANCE IN SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS OCT 29 WITH CDU DEPUTIES BIRRENBACH AND MERTES, URGING THE TWO DEPUTIES TO DO THEIR BEST WITHIN CONFIDENTIAL

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THE CDU PARLIAMENTARY GROUP TO WIN BROAD OPPOSITION

SUPPORT OF NPT RATIFICATION. EMBOFF EMPHASIZED U.S. POSITION THAT WASHINGTON HAD CONSULTED CLOSELY WITH FRG AND OTHER ALLIES AND HAD PROCEEDED WITH SOVIETS (AS DESCRIBED REFTEL - PARA 6) ONLY AFTER FRG HAD ASSENTED TO OUR APPROACH. GIVEN SOVIET SILENCE IN THE FACE OF U.S. INTERPRETATIONS AND SUBSEQUENT RUSSIAN RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY, BIRRENBACH AND MERTES WERE TOLD THAT MOSCOW IS THEREFORE IN NO POSITION TO PRESS ANY INTERPRETATION INCONSISTENT WITH THOSE PRIVATELY AND PUBLICLY ADVANCED BY USG.

2. BIRRENBACH AND MERTES EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR INFORMATION PROVIDED THEM AND ASSURED US THAT IT WOULD BE TREATED WITH THE GREATEST DISCRETION. BOTH DEPUTIES SPOKE OF THE POSSIBILITY OF READING THE AMERICAN INTERPRETATION INTO THE RECORDS OF THE BUNDESTAG DEBATE IN ORDER TO CLARIFY THE FRG POSITION ON THE TREATY. THEY EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THEY COULD CONVINCE THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT, DURING THE DEBATE, TO ASSOCIATE ITSELF CLEARLY WITH THESE INTERPRETATIONS. BIRRENBACH SAID IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE, IN ORDER TO AVOID ANY AMBIGUITY, FOR THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT TO INFORM THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS--HE MENTIONED A NOTE VERBALE--OF THESE GERMAN INTERPRETATIONS; BIRRENBACH SAID SUCH A PROCEDURE WOULD NOT CONTEMPLATE A SOVIET REACTION BUT RATHER SILENCE IN THE FACE OF THE GERMAN STATEMENT. BIRRENBACH SAID HE REALIZED THE LATTER APPROACH, OF SUPPLEMENTING BUNDESTAG STATEMENTS WITH A DIPLOMATIC DEMARCHE, RAN THE RISK OF REOPENING A DELICATELY ELABORATED UNDERSTANDING FROM THE YEAR 1967. HOWEVER, ASIDE FROM THE SUBSTANTIVE DESIRABILITY OF SUCH A REAFFIRMATION, BIRRENBACH SAID SUCH AN APPROACH MIGHT BE REQUIRED TO GAIN A BROAD CONSENSUS FOR RATIFICATION AMONG CDU DEUPIES. THIS ISSUE WILL BE DISCUSSED AT THE OCT 31 CDU PARLIAMENTARY GROUP MEETING. BIRRENBACH AND MERTES PROMISED TO INFORM US OF THE RESULTS OF THIS MEETING THE NEXT DAY.

3. THE QUESTION OF THE NPT RATIFICATION ALSO AROSE
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DURING A RECENT CONVERSATION WHICH THE AMBASSADOR HAD WITH CDU/CSU PARLIAMENTARY LEADER CARSTENS. THE AMBASSADOR STRESSED TO CARSTENS THE CONTINUING U.S. INTERESTS IN GERMAN RATIFICATION OF THE NPT. THE AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT THE NEGOTIATING HISTORY OF THE TREATY, IN OUR VIEW, PROVIDED A SOUND BASIS FOR CLAIMING THAT THE "EUROPEAN OPTION" COULD BE EXERCISED IN A WAY CONSISTENT WITH THE TREATY ITSELF,

AND THAT THE HYPERLEGALISTIC APPROACH WHICH SOME MEMBERS OF THE CDU/CSU WERE TAKING COULD NOT HELP BUT CREATE THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY WERE MORE INTERESTED IN FINDING ARGUMENTS AGAINST RATIFICATION THAN THEY HILLENBRAND

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WERE IN UNDERSTANDING OUR CLEAR INTENTION IN NEGOTIATING THE TREATY WITH THE SOVIETS.

4. CARSTENS STATED THAT HIS MAIN CONCERN WAS TO AVOID A SPLIT DOWN THE CENTER OF THE CDU/CSU PARLIAMENTARY FRACTION IN THE VOTE ON THE NPT. IN CONFIDENCE, HE SAID THAT HE HOPED TO BE ABLE TO ACHIEVE LARGE-SCALE SUPPORT WITHIN HIS PARTY FOR THE TREATY, SINCE IT WOULD BE A VERY BAD THING FOR ITS IMAGE IF IT WERE TO END UP IN OPPOSITION TO THE NPT. THIS, HOWEVER, REQUIRED CAREFUL TACTICAL PREPARATION, AND FOR THIS REASON HE HAD BEEN PROCEEDING VERY CAUTIOUSLY, HOPING THAT OUT OF THE BIRRENBACH EXERCISE PERSUASIVE ARGUMENTS WOULD EMERGE PERMITTING THE CDU/CSU TO VOTE FOR RATIFICATION. HE WAS LEANING TO THE NEED FOR SOME

AGREED GLOSS, BUT WAS NOT CLEAR PRECISELY WHAT FOR IT SHOULD TAKE.

5. CARSTENS SAID HE HAD BEEN SEEKING TO RBUT THE IDEA OF STRAUSS THAT THE CDU/CSU SHOULD USE THEIR CONTROL
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OF THE BUNDES RAT TO PREVENT RATIFICATION OF EURATOM/IAEA AGREEMENT AND THUS EFFECTIVELY BLOCK THE NPT. CARSTENS WAS CONTESTING THIS POSITION WITHIN HIS PARTY, SAYING IT WOULD RESULT IN A STOPPAGE OF NUCLEAR FUEL DELIVERY TO THE FRG BY THE U.S., SOMETHING NO GERMAN IN HIS RIGHT MIND WOULD WANT IN AN ERA OF EMERGING SHORTAGE. COMMENT: IN THIS CONNECTION, IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT THE PROSPECT OF A NUCLEAR FUEL DELIVERY STOPPAGE MAY IN THE END BE THE DECISIVE ARGUMENT FOR AFFIRMATIVE CDU VOTES FOR NPT RATIFICATION. WHILE MAKING CLEAR TO EMBOFF HIS CONTINUED CONCERNS OVER THE NPT ITSELF, MERTES STRONGLY IMPLIED THAT THE PROSPECT OF A NUCLEAR FUEL DELIVERY STOPPAGE MIGHT IN THE END BRING HIM TO A RELUCTANT AFFIRMATIVE VOTE FOR NPT RATIFICATION.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 30 OCT 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: garlanwa
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973BONN15711
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1 HILLENBRAND
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t1973105/aaaaadij.tel
Line Count: 196
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: (A) STATE 212537, (B) BONN 15417
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 08 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <08-Aug-2001 by izenbei0>; APPROVED <21-Sep-2001 by garlanwa>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NPT RATIFICATION: DISCUSSIONS WITH CDU DEPUTIES
TAGS: PARM, GE
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005